

brother of Jaichand of Kanauj, Thákur Rahtor (though the family history calls him Gahrwár),* on the victory of Shaháb-ud-din Ghorí, and Mánik Chand's own defeat at Karra Mánikpur, his sons made their way to the Vindhya mountains near Mirzapur, whence one son settled in Orcha, and the youngest returned to Aurangpur Sámhi, and ousting the Ujena Thákurs, who were in possession, established a ráj at Sengh, to which were attached 28 villages (seven across the Ganges), and a cadet branch with the title of Ráo at Madára Rái, with 17 other villages. During the oppressions of the Oudh rule the latter branch became extinct, and only 9 villages remained in the hands of the Sengh Rájá. Owing to the lunacy of the Rájá Bhawáni Singh (who was an adopted heir from that branch of the family which had settled across the Ganges), which threw the estate into the power of his two widows (profligate women), even these have been in danger of transfer, but the estate is now in charge of the Court of Wards, and may be saved for the young occupant of the "gaddi," Takht Singh.†

A New Find of Early Muhammadan Coins of Bengal.—By
A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE, PH. D.

(With four Plates.)

In 1863 an unusually large hoard of silver coins, numbering in all no less than 13,500 pieces, was found in the State of Kooch Behár in Northern Bengal.‡ About 10 years later another, much smaller hoard was found in or near the Fort of Bihár, containing only 37 pieces.§ Both hoards consisted of coins of almost exclusively Bengal mints, only a very

* For an attempted solution of the relation of Gahrwárs to Rahtors I refer to Elliott's Supplementary Glossary. The fanciful derivation given to the name here is "out of house and home" (ghar báhar), referring to the flight of the tribe after the destruction of Kanauj.

† From Mr. F. N. Wright's Report on the Revision of the Settlement of the Cawnpore District, pp. 18—22.

‡ See Report (with list of coins) by Dr. R. Mitra in J. A. S. B. vol. XXXIII, pp. 480—483. Also E. Thomas' *Initial Coinage of Bengal*, in J. A. S. B., vol. XXXVI, p. 1.

§ See Journal A. S. B., vol. XLII, p. 343. The exact date of this find is not mentioned by Mr. Thomas.

small number belonging to the imperial mints of the Dehli Sultáns.* The coins of the large hoard embraced a period of some 107 years, reaching up as high as about A. H. 634 (= A. D. 1236). Those of the smaller hoard extended over a term of 13 years and went back as far as the year 614 A. H. (=1216 A. D.); thus bringing us to an interval of only 14 years from the first occupation of Bengal by the Muhammadans, which took place in 600 A. H. (=A. D. 1203) under Muhammad Baḡhtiyár Khaljí.

Selecting the earliest specimens from among the coins of the two finds, Mr. E. Thomas described them in two papers, contributed to this Journal.† The substance of the first paper is also incorporated in his *Chronicles of the Pathán Kings of Dehli*, pp. 109 ff.‡

Quite recently, in the beginning of November 1880, a buried treasure was found by three land cultivators in some kheraj ground within the municipal limits of Gauhati (in Asam). The hoard consisted of 38 silver pieces and 40 small lumps of gold; but only 14 of the former and one of the latter were recovered by the Deputy Commissioner of Kámráp, who, under the Treasure Trove Act, forwarded them to the Asiatic Society of Bengal. On examination by me they proved to be early Muhammadan coins, some of which bear the name of the provincial mint of Lakhanautí, while others do not mention their place of mintage at all. Among them were some which have not been hitherto described and published; one or two, I suspect, are altogether new.

They consist of—

4	coins of the	Dehli Emperor Shams-ud-dín Altamsh.
1	coin	„ Bengal Sultán Ghiyás-ud-dín 'Iwaz.
2	coins	„ Dehli Empress Rizíah or Jalálat-ud-dín.
1	coin	„ Dehli Emperor 'Alá-ud-dín Mas'aúd.
3	coins	„ Dehli Emperor Náşir-ud-dín Maḡmúd.
3	„	„ Bengal Sultán Mughís-ud-dín Yúzbak.

Before proceeding to describe these coins in detail, it will be useful to give a table of the Governors of Bengal and the contemporary Emperors of Dehli, indicating those rulers (in small italics) coins of whom have been already discovered and described by Mr. Thomas. This will show at a glance the additions (in capital italics), procured from the present find.

* Less than 150 in the large and 1 in the smaller hoard.

† See vol. XXXVI, 1867, pp. 1 ff. and vol. XLII of 1873, pp. 363 ff. The first paper had been originally printed in the *Journal R. A. S. (N. S.)*, vol. II. of 1866, pp. 145 ff.

‡ See also Blochmann's *Geography and History of Bengal*, in *J. A. S. B.*, vol. XLII, pp. 245 ff. Also Dr. R. Mitra in *J. A. S. B.*, vol. XXXIII, pp. 579, 580.

No.	ACCESSION.		Governors of Bengal.	Emperors of Dehli.
	A. H.	A. D.		
1	600	1203	Muḥammad Baḫhtiyār Khaljī.	Mu'iz-ud-dín Muḥammad bin Sám.
2	602	1205	'Izz-ud-dín Muḥammad	} Quṭb-ud-dín Aibak.
3	605	1208	'Alá-ud-dín 'Ali Mardán,	
4	608	1211	<i>Sultán Ghiyáz - ud - dín.</i> 'Iwaz, ...	} <i>Shams-ud-dín Altamsh.</i>
5	624	1226	Násir-ud-dín Maḥmúd,...	
6	627	1229	'Alá-ud-dín Jání, ...	
7	627	1229	Saif-ud-dín Aibak, ..	
8	631	1233	'Izz-ud-dín Tughril, ...	{ Shams-ud-dín Altamsh to 633.
				{ Rukn-uddín Feroz Sháh to 634.
9	642	1244	Qamar-ud-dín Timur Khán	{ <i>Sultána Riḏiyah</i> to 637.
				{ Mu'iz-ud-dín Bahrám Sháh 639.
				{ 'ALA'-UD-DIN MAS'-AUD SHAH.
10	644	1246	<i>SULTAN MUGHIS-UD-DIN YUZBAK.</i>	{ <i>Násir-ud-dín Maḥmúd.</i>
11	656	1258	Jalál-ud-dín Mas'aúd,...	} <i>Násir-ud-dín Maḥmúd.</i>
12	657	1258	'Izz-ud-dín Balban, ...	
13	657	1258	Táj-ud-dín Arslán Khán,	
14	659	1260	Muḥammad Arslán Khán	

I. Coins of Shams-ud-dín Altamsh.

No. 1. (Plate I, No. 1). *Silver.* Weight $164\frac{1}{2}$ grs. Apparently *new* in this variety. It closely resembles Nos. 1 and 3 in Thomas' *Initial Coinage of Bengal*, Pt. II, pp. 350, 353; but the legend on the obverse is differently arranged.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
السلطان المعظم شمس الدين نيا و الدين ابوالمظفر التمش القطبي ناصر امير العمومدين	Horseman (with club in right hand). <i>Margin</i> : illegible.

The marginal legend is complete, but in illegible scrawls, exactly resembling those in No. 3a of Thomas' *Initial Coinage*, Pt. II, p. 353. The date, to judge from other coins of this type, would be some year between 614 and 616. No mint place is mentioned.

No. 2. (Plate I, 2). *Silver*. Like No. 1 in every respect; but the marginal legend is incomplete.

No. 3. (Plate I, 3). *Silver*. Weight 165 grs. Date 6[26]. Exactly like the coin No. XXVIII, described and figured by Mr. Thomas, in his *Chronicles of the Pathán Kings of Dehli*, p. 46, and noted as "very rare."

<p><i>Obv.</i></p> <p>لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله</p>	<p><i>Rev.</i></p> <p>في عهد الامام المستنصر امير المؤمنين</p> <p><i>Margin</i>: ضرب هذا مائة</p>
--	---

Nothing of the margin is left in Mr. Thomas' coin; the small portion (مائة) still visible here clearly belongs to *sittamáyat* = 600. Mr. Thomas gives reasons for his conjecture that the date must be 626 A. H. It may be noted that the four segments, formed by the square within the circle, contain, on the obverse, an ornamental scroll, on the reverse, three dots.

No. 4. (Plate I, 4). *Silver*. Weight 167½ grs. Date [6]30. Exactly like the coin, No. XXX, described and figured by Mr. Thomas, *Chronicles*, p. 52. Only one-half of the date is left (30), but it suffices to fix the date as 630. The illegible space of the margin is just sufficient to provide room for the two words *ضرب* at the beginning and *ستمائة* at the end. The coin, therefore, bears no name of any mint.

<p><i>Obv.</i></p> <p>السلطان الاعظم شمس الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر التمش السلطان ناصر امير المو [مدين]</p>	<p><i>Rev.</i></p> <p>لا لله الا الله محمد رسول الله المستنصر بامر الله امير المؤمنين</p> <p><i>Margin</i>: هذا السنة في شهور سنة ثلثين</p>
--	---

The syllables *مدين* are contained in the right-hand-side segment.

II. COINS OF GHIYÁS-UD-DÍN 'IWAZ.

No. 5. (Plate I, 5). *Silver.* Weight 165 grs. *Unique* in this variety. Date : *sixth month of 621.*

The legend on the obverse is much like that on coin No. 7*a* in Mr. Thomas' *Initial Coinage of Bengal*, Pt. II, p. 357 (J. A. S. B. vol. XLII); but the last phrase of that legend is omitted here, and the words are differently arranged. On the reverse, the legend is as on his No. 6*a* (*ibidem*, p. 356), but with a different date. The letters, especially on the obverse, are excessively badly formed. The two first numerals of the date are very much worn, but sufficient is distinguishable, to determine the date as 621. It cannot be later than 622, as Khalif Náṣir-ud-dín died in that year; nor can it be a date in the second decade of the 7th century, because the second numeral is clearly *عشرين* (not *عشر* or *عشرة*), and because the similar coins Nos. 7 and 7*a* of Thomas are of 620. No mint is named; but of course it must be some Bengal mint, as Ghiyás-ud-dín was ruler of Bengal.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
غياث الدنيا و الدين ابو الفتح عوض بن الحسن قسيم امير المؤمنين سلطان السلطين معز الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر علي يد ناصر امير المؤمنين	لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله الناصر لدين الله امير المؤمنين <i>Margin</i> : ضرب هذه السكة في جمادى الآخرة سنة احدى وعشرين و ستمائة

III. COINS OF JALÁLAT-UD-DÍN (RIZIYAH.)

No. 6. (Plate I, 6). *Silver.* Weight 166 grs. Mint *Laknautí.* Date [634].

This coin agrees in every respect with the coin No. 90 in Thomas' *Chronicles*, p. 107, and No. 2 in his *Initial Coinage*, Pt. I, p. 39. The agreement even extends to the imperfect marginal legend. It is to be noted, however, that in the present coin the word *ابنت* "daughter" is placed between *الشمس* and *السلطان*. The date unfortunately was on the lost portion of the margin.*

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
السلطان الاعظم جلالة الدنيا و الدين ملكه الشمس ابنت السلطان صهرة امير المؤمنين <i>No margin.</i>	في عهد الامام المستنصر امير المؤمنين <i>Margin</i> : ... هذا الفضة بالكنوتى ...

* The date of this coin is 634, as shown by a duplicate in the Society's Cabinet; see below No. 24, p. 67.

No. 7. (Plate II, 7). *Silver.* Weight 159 grs. Mint [Laknautí].
Date 635 *

This is a variety of the former (No. 6); the legend on the obverse being in a slightly different arrangement. The word *ابنت* is again distinctly placed between *Altamsh* and *us Sultán*. The name of the mint town, omitted in the imperfect marginal legend, should be *Laknautí*.†

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
السلطان الاعظم جلالة الدنيا والدين ملكه التمش ابنت السلطان صهرة امير المومنين	فى عهد الامام المستنصر امير المومنين <i>Margin:</i> ضرب هذا الفضة خمس ثلاثين ستمائة
<i>No margin.</i>	

IV. COIN OF 'ALÁ-UD-DÍN MAS'AÚD SHÁH.

No. 8. (Plate II, 8). *Silver.* Weight 163 grs. *Unique.*‡

This coin is peculiar in that it has no marginal inscription indicating, as usual, the place of mintage and the date. Nor does it appear from its present state, that it ever had any marginal circle. The whole face of the coin, on both sides, is covered by a double-lined square area, with four external segments, formed by the circumference of the coin, and containing an ornamental scroll on the obverse, and three dots on the reverse (as on coin No. 3). The inscription on the reverse is peculiar in adding *بِاللَّهِ* *b'illah* to the Khalif's name and *لِلَّهِ* at the end of the whole legend, and on the obverse, in omitting the article *ال* *al* before *سلطان* *sultán*. In the peculiarities of its outward arrangement, as well as in those of its inscriptions, this coin is an exact likeness of the coins of Náşir-ud-dín, No. 9 and its duplicate. Indeed, as regards the reverse, the two coins, Nos. 8 and 9, are almost duplicates, even as regards the heavy, square form of the letters. On the obverse, the legends are alike, barring only the ruler's name; but while 'Alá-ud-dín's coin, No. 8, shows the same kind of heavy square letters as on the reverse, that of Náşir-ud-dín, No. 9, shows the light, oblong kind of letters, which re-appear on his coin, No. 10, and still more strikingly on Mughíş-ud-dín's coins (Nos. XI, XII).

* This is now in the possession of the Hon'ble Mr. J. Gibbs, by exchange.

† This is shown by a duplicate of a variety of this coin in the Society's Cabinet; see below No. 26, page 67.

‡ I know only two other specimens which resemble this coin, and which I discovered afterwards, see Nos. 27, 28, page 68.

<i>Obv.</i>		<i>Rev.</i>
السلطان الأعظم علا الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر مسعود شاه بن سلطان <i>No margin.</i>		في عهد الامام المستنصر بالله امير المؤمنين لله <i>No margin.</i>

No place of mintage is named; hence it may be assumed to have been the imperial mint of Dehli. Nor is any date given; but as the Khalif Al Mustanşir died in the middle of 640 A. H., and 'Alá-ud-dín ascended the throne in 639, it would seem to be limited to one of those two years. (See Thomas' *Chronicles*, pp. 120, 122). But see below, p. 64.

The execution of the inscriptions is not good. That on the obverse is so crowded, as to necessitate the inserting of the two words شاه and سلطان, interlinearly, between the second and third lines. Moreover the consonant س is never written, unless it be indicated by an almost imperceptible straight line; thus we have اللطان, لطان, معود on the obverse and المتنصر on the reverse.

V. COINS OF NÁŞIR-UD-DÍN MAĤMÚD SHÁH.

No. 9. (Plate II, 9). *Silver.* Weight 164 grs. Date [644 ?]

Of this coin, there are two duplicate specimens in the lot,* which are in every respect the counterparts of coin No. 60 in Thomas' *Chronicles*, p. 81, *Initial Coinage*, Pt. I, p. 35 (J. A. S. B., vol. XXXVI) and Pt. II, p. 363 (J. A. S. B., vol. XLII), where it is noted as "unique." According to Mr. Thomas, the margin is "illegible."† But from the present coins it is quite clear, that there is no circular margin at all; the angles of the square areas touch the circumference of the coin, and form with it four segments, containing scrolls on the obverse, and three dots on the reverse. In fact, they are in this respect exact reproductions of 'Alá-ud-dín's coin, No. 8.‡ No mint is named, nor any date. The former is probably Dehli and the latter 644, as will be shown afterwards (see below, p. 64).

* The duplicate is now in Mr. Gibb's possession, by exchange.

† In his last reference, however, (*Initial Coinage*, Pt. II, p. 363) no mention is made of any margin at all.

‡ It is noteworthy that Marsden in his *Oriental Coins* (Pl. XXXV, No. DCXCIV) figures a very similar coin of Náşir-ud-dín, which also is devoid of marginal circles, and indicates no mint or date. But the inscriptions are somewhat different, omitting شاه on the obverse, and reading المتنصر امير المؤمنين on the reverse. Unless, indeed, the margins should be worn away, as Mr. Thomas (*Chronicles*, p. 126) seems to suppose; but of such wear there appears to be no evidence.

Obv.

السُّلْطَانُ الْأَعْظَمُ
 نَاصِرُ الدُّنْيَا وَالدِّينِ
 أَبُو الْمُظْفَرِ مُحَمَّدٌ
 شَاهُ بْنُ سُلْطَانَ

No margin.

Rev.

فِي عَهْدِ الْأَمَامِ
 الْمُسْتَنْصِرِ بِاللَّهِ أَمِيرِ
 الْمُؤْمِنِينَ لِلَّهِ

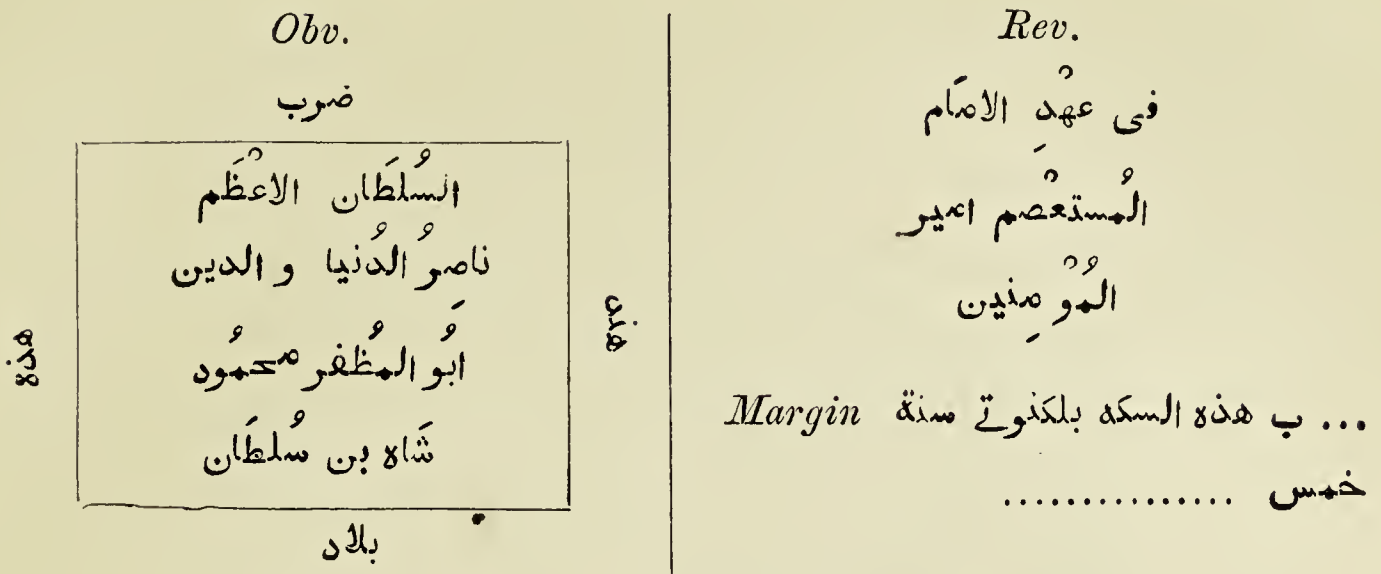
No margin.

No. 10. (Plate II, 10). *Silver.* Weight 169 grs. Mint *Laknauti*.
 Date [645]. *Unique.*

The obverse of this coin is an almost exact reproduction of the obverse of No. 9, with the exception only, that the four segments contain words instead of scrolls; *viz.*, above ضرب, on the left هذة; below بلاد (?), on the right هذ. The reverse differs from that of No. 9 altogether, but, on the other hand, it is apparently an exact reproduction of that of coin No. 110 in Thomas' *Chronicles*, p. 129, with the exception of the date, which is probably 645. The date is almost wholly wanting; there is however room for three numerals, and the traces left of the first numeral best agree with خمس *five*; and considering that this coin shares the peculiarity of the reading *Maḥmūd Shāhu-bnu-Sulṭān* with No. 9, the date in all probability is 645. For in his later coins of 652, 654, 655 Nāṣir-ud-dīn always describes himself as *Maḥmūdu-bn-us-Sulṭān*.

It may be noted that the inscription on the obverse of Mr. Thomas' No. 110 is the same as on the obverse of the present coin, with the exception of the omission of شاه after Maḥmūd and the addition of the article ال *al* before سلطان and of a few almost illegible words at the end. Among the latter, however, in the left hand corner, the word يوزبك *yūzbak* is quite distinct, written precisely as in the coins of Mughīṣ-ud-dīn, Nos. 11 and 12. The mention of the name Yūzbak fixes the date of the coin as being during the governorship of Ikhtiyār-ud-dīn, before he assumed independence under the title Sulṭān Mughīṣ-ud-dīn. The coins Nos. 11 and 12 show that he was already independent in 653; hence the date must be either 651 or 652; probably the latter.*

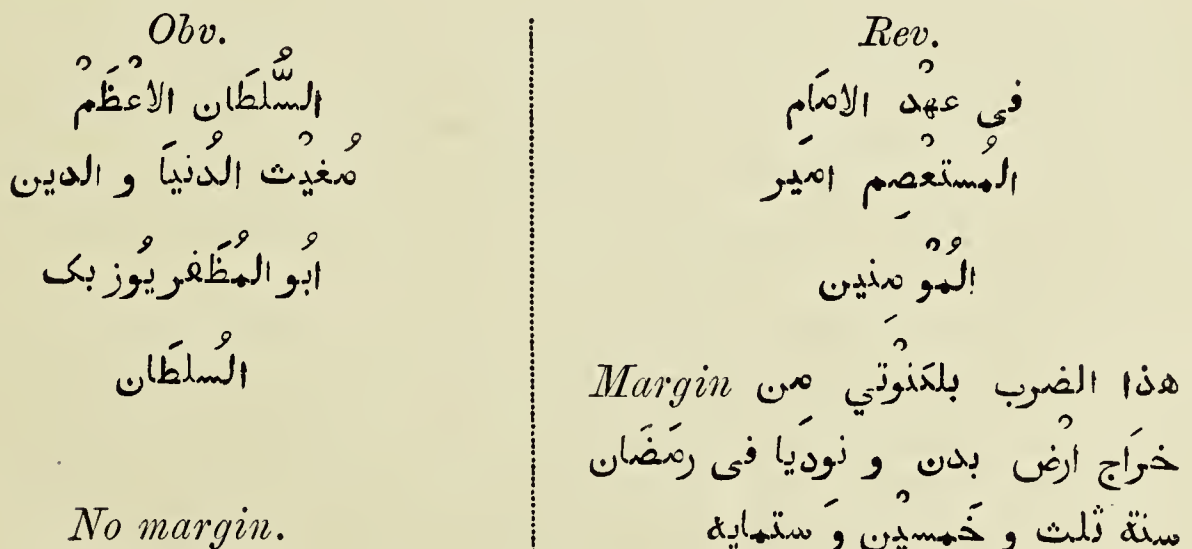
* According to Mr. Thomas' transcript, one numeral is omitted before 5 and one after. The latter, of course, is 6 (= 600); the former must be 1 or 2.—This coin was, at first, thought to be lost, but I found it afterwards in the Society's Cabinet, and it is described below, see No. 29, pp. 68, 69.



VI. COINS OF MUGHÍŞ-UD-DÍN YÚZBAK.*

No. 11. (Plate II, 11). *Silver.* Weight 171 grs. Mint *Laknautí.* Date, month *Ramazán* 653 A. H. *New.* This money is said to be derived from the land revenue of *Badan and Nawadiyá*† (Bardwán? and Nadiyá).

This coin, in the arrangement of the surfaces and in the style of execution of the letters,‡ very closely resembles *Náşir-ud-dín's* coin, No. 10. As regards the obverse, this resemblance is even closer to *Náşir-ud-dín's* coin, No. 9, in one point; *viz.*, in resuming the scroll (instead of the words) in the segments. There can be no doubt, that *Mughíş-ud-dín*, when he made himself independent of *Náşir-ud-dín*, imitated his coins, as nearly as possible.



No. 12. (Plate II, 12). *Silver.* Weight 171 grs. Mint *Laknautí.* Date 653 A. H. Duplicate of No. 11.

* Regarding the history of this ruler, see Major Raverty's translation of the *Tabaqát i Náşirí*, pp. 761 ff.

† Spelled *Núdiyah* in the *Tabaqát i Náşirí*. See Blochmann, *Geography and History of Bengal*, in J. A. S. B., Vol. XLII, p. 212.

‡ The coins of *Mughíş-ud-dín* are particularly graceful, with their light, oblong letters and the little ornamental scrolls to fill up the vacant spaces of the square areas

There are two points, especially, on which the coins of this new Find throw light, *viz.*, the dates of Náşir-ud-dín and those of Mughíş-ud-dín.

1. From a comparison of the dates of these coins, it will be seen that they embrace a period of about 40 years, *i. e.*, from A. H. 614 to 653; *viz.* :

Sultán Altamsh before Ghiyás' revolt,	2	coins,	A. H. 614 or 616.
„ Ghiyás-ud-dín of Bengal,	1	„ „	621.
„ Altamsh after Ghiyás' revolt,	2	„ „	626, 630.
„ Jalálat-ud-dín (Riziyah),	2	„ „	634, 635.
„ 'Alá-ud-dín,	1	„ „	640.
„ Náşir-ud-dín,	3	„ „	644, 645.
„ Mughíş-ud-dín of Bengal,	3	„ „	653.

For all practical purposes, these dates are certain, except that of the two undated coins of Náşir-ud-dín (No. 9 and its duplicate), which I have put down to the year 644.

There were two brothers of the name of Náşir-ud-dín, sons of Sultán Altamsh. The elder was Governor of Bengal for a short time; *viz.*, two years, A. H. 624-626.* The younger, born A. H. 626 (the year of the death of his namesake brother), was Emperor of Dehli, after 'Alá-ud-dín Mas'aúd Sháh, for 20 years, A. H. 644-664. During his reign the Bengal Governor Ikhtiyár-ud-dín Tughril Khán revolted and made himself independent under the title of Sultán Mughíş-ud-dín.

It is quite certain that the coin No. 10 belongs to the younger Náşir-ud-dín. For firstly, the Khalif Musta'shim, mentioned on it, succeeded in A. H. 640, while his predecessor Mustanşir was Khalif during the two years of the elder Náşir-ud-dín's governorship of Bengal. Secondly, there is the striking resemblance between this coin and those of Sultán Mughíş-ud-dín, who was a contemporary of the younger Náşir-ud-dín, and who clearly imitated the latter's coins.

The case is very much more doubtful, as regards the other coins of Náşir-ud-dín (No. 9 and its duplicate). Mr. Thomas (*Chronicles*, pp. 82, 83, *Initial Coinage*, Pt. II, pp. 360 ff.) considers that the type of coin, to which they belong, must be ascribed to the elder Náşir-ud-dín. It is with some diffidence that I venture to differ from so great an authority on Numismatics; but I am inclined to ascribe these coins to the younger. My reasons are the following :

In the first place, the present coins clearly show that the Bengal Governors never struck coins in their own name, except when they had revolted and established an independent Saltanat. Thus all the present coins bear the names of Dehli Emperors, except those of Ghiyás-ud-dín and

* See Major Raverty's Translation of the *Ṭabaqát i Náşiri*, pp. 594, 629 ff. Also E. Thomas, *Initial Coinage*, Pt. II, p. 35, Pt. II, p. 350, *Chronicles*, p. 82.

Mughīṣ-ud-dīn, who, for a certain time, had made themselves independent. During that time, they replaced the Emperor's name with their own; but while they were mere Governors, they did not venture to interfere with the Emperor's superscription. Thus Ghiyāṣ-ud-dīn's name does not appear on the coins before or after his revolt, but that of the Sultān Altamsh. Similarly Mughīṣ-ud-dīn's name does not appear on No. 10, which was struck before his revolt, but Nāṣir-ud-dīn's. The utmost a Governor might venture to do was to place his own name as an appendix to that of his Emperor; as shown in No. 110 in *Chronicles*, p. 129, where Ikhtiyār-ud-dīn Yúzbak (*i. e.*, Mughīṣ-ud-dīn) adds his name after that of his Emperor Nāṣir-ud-dīn; in this case, indeed, there was a special reason for it; for, as the date of the coin shows, Yúzbak was at that time already on the eve of his revolt (see below, page 65) and the conjunction of his own name with that of the Emperor was the first step towards it. Again though 'Izz-ud-dīn Ṭughril was the Governor of Bengal during the time when a woman, Riṣiyah, sat on the imperial throne, yet his name does not appear on the contemporary coins, but that of the Empress Jalálat-ud-dīn. It is clear, therefore, that the coins, which were struck during the Bengal Governorship of the elder Nāṣir-ud-dīn, could not have borne the latter's name, but that of his father Altamsh, who was the Emperor of that time.

But in addition to this inferential proof, there is direct evidence of the fact. Mr. Thomas, *Initial Coinage*, Pt. II, pp. 360, 361 (Plate X, Nos. 7 and 8) describes and figures two coins, struck at Laknautí,* in the year 624, that is, in the year when the elder Nāṣir-ud-dīn was already Governor of Bengal; but both coins do not bear his name, but, as usual, that of the contemporary Emperor Altamsh. It is clear, therefore, that the Nāṣir-ud-dīn, who describes himself as "Sultān" and puts his name on the coins under discussion, cannot have been a mere Governor of Bengal, but must have been an Emperor of Delhi. Whence it follows, that he must be the younger Nāṣir-ud-dīn; for he alone of the two namesakes ever was Emperor.

In the second place, when describing the coins, I have shown (see p. 59) that Nāṣir-ud-dīn's coin, No. 9, is a close imitation (barring the ruler's name, of course) of 'Alá-ud-dīn's coin, No. 8, and also (through No. 10) a more or less close prototype of Mughīṣ-ud-dīn's coins, Nos. 11 and 12. This fact accurately fixes Nāṣir-ud-dīn's position between 'Alá-ud-dīn and Mughīṣ-ud-dīn (that is, between 644 and 653) and proves him to be the Emperor of that name, but not the Governor of Bengal of that name, who died 18 years previously (626). Moreover, it should be remembered, that 'Alá-ud-dīn's coin No. 8 and its antitype, Nāṣir-ud-dīn's No. 9, have some points quite peculiar to themselves; thus, the absence of any indication of

* The imperfect word, in No. 7 on Pl. X, which Mr. Thomas reads as شهر, is probably بلكنوتی and the preceding lacuna is السكة.

mint-place and date, the omission of the article before Sultán, the addition of *illah*.* Now it is extremely improbable, that the Emperor 'Alá-ud-dín should appropriate, for one type of his coins, not only the general style, but also the peculiarities of a coin of a mere Governor of Bengal, and that, of a Governor who had died 13 years previously (for Náşir-ud-dín, the Governor, died A. H. 626, while 'Alá-ud-dín became Emperor in 639). On the other hand, it is perfectly natural that the Emperor Náşir-ud-dín should (temporarily) appropriate the style and peculiarities of the coins of his immediate predecessor 'Alá-ud-dín, whom he succeeded in 644. He probably very soon discarded the imitation. His coins, No. 10 of A. H. 645 (in the present lot), and No. 110 of 651, No. 106 of 654 (in *Chronicles*, pp. 127, 129) already show different styles, without the peculiarities of 'Alá-ud-dín's coin. We shall probably not go far wrong, if we assume that his coins of the style No. 9 belong to the very commencement of his reign and are to be ascribed to A. H. 644. This is further made probable by the fact that coin No. 9 shows an anachronism in preserving the name of the Khalif Al Mustanşir b'illah, who had already died in 640. This would seem to show that 'Alá-ud-dín's coin was adopted by Náşir-ud-dín in some haste, merely changing the imperial names, but leaving all the rest undisturbed; but as soon as his affairs had become settled, the needful change must have been made,† as shown, *e. g.*, in the very similar coins, noticed by Marsden, *Oriental Coins*, p. 523 (Plate XXV, No. DCXLIV). 'Alá-ud-dín's coin would lend itself all the more easily to this anachronism, since no date is mentioned on it. Indeed, judging from its peculiarities, I am inclined to think that the omission of the date was intentional, so as to allow of its being struck continuously throughout the reign of 'Alá-ud-dín, up to 644, when Náşir-ud-dín succeeded him. Which again would account for the fact of its being adopted so easily by the latter emperor. That it, however, was only adopted by him as a very temporary measure, is shown by his coin, No. 10, which (see page 60) in all probability was already struck in 645, and which preserves the reverse of his (temporary) coin, No. 9, but exchanges the anachronical name of Mustansir, for the correct Musta'sim.

In the third place, most of the arguments, which Mr. Thomas adduces for his belief that the coin belongs to the elder Náşir-ud-dín, are taken

* Also the addition of *b'illah*; though this occurs also on a few coins of Altamsh; *e. g.*, No. XXX, in *Chronicles*, p. 53.

† There still remains some difficulty about this anachronism. For 'Alá-ud-dín himself changed the Khalif's name on his coins, from 641, see *Chronicles*, p. 122. And it seems strange, why Náşir-ud-dín, when he wanted to imitate 'Alá-ud-dín's coins, did not make a more appropriate selection. But the peculiarities of the coin, and the ease of its adoption on account of the omission of any date, may have influenced him.

from its peculiarities, which, he considers, point to an early period (see *Chronicles*, pp. 82-84). Much of the force of these arguments disappears, when it can be shown, from the present Find, that all those peculiarities occur in a coin of 'Alá-ud-dín, that is, at a date quite as late as the younger Náşir-ud-dín. With regard to the peculiar phrase *bnu-Sultán* (*Chronicles*, p. 84), the case is even stronger; for the present Find shows, that it also occurs in No. 10, which is an undoubted coin of the younger Náşir-ud-dín. Whence it is clear, that its occurrence in No. 9 in no way tends to prove that the latter is to be ascribed to the elder brother of that name.

In the fourth place, the omission of any mention of a place of mintage appears to me to point to Dehli as its mint-place. For no one would think of the provincial mint of Lakhanautí, unless that place were specially indicated. But if the coin was struck at Dehli, it could not have proceeded from the elder Náşir-ud-dín, who, if he coined at all any coins in his own name, must have done so in Lakhanautí, the capital of his Bengal governorship.

2. Regarding Sultán Mughíş-ud-dín, it has been already mentioned that he made himself independent under that title during the long reign of the Emperor of Dehli, Náşir-ud-dín. His history is narrated at length in the *Ṭabaqát-i-Náşirí*, where however, unfortunately, no dates are given, and the exact period of his independence has not been known hitherto (see H. Blochmann, *Geography and History of Bengal*, in J. A. S. B., vol. XLII, p. 246). The coins, now discovered, however, help to clear up this obscurity. They show that in 653 he was already independent. Further the coin of Náşir-ud-dín, No. 110, in 'Thomas' *Chronicles*, p. 129, bearing the joint name of Ikhtiyár-ud-dín Yúzbak (as Mughíş-ud-dín was called before he made himself independent), which is dated either 651 or 652, shows that his independency cannot have commenced earlier than either of those two years, more probably towards the end of 652. Lastly there is a coin of Náşir-ud-dín in the Society's Cabinet,* which was struck at Lakhanautí and bears date the second month of the year 655, and which shows therefore that at that time Mughíş-ud-dín's independence must have been ended and the Dehli Emperor's sovereignty again acknowledged. According to the *Ṭabaqát-i-Náşirí*, Mughíş-ud-dín lost his life in an unsuccessful war with the Rái of Kámród. This probably happened at the commencement of the year 655† and led to the re-establishment of

* See No. 30 in the Supplement, page 69.

† The second month or Şafar of the year 655 A. H. corresponds, as far as I can make out, to July of 1256 A. D. In the *Ṭabaqát i Náşirí* (pp. 765, 766) it is stated that Mughíş-ud-dín was wounded and died not long after the *spring harvest*. This brings us towards the middle of the year (1256 A. D.) according to our reckoning, the spring harvest being in March or April.

the Dehli supremacy. Altogether Mughís-ud-dín's independent Saltanat cannot have lasted much longer than two years (653 and 654).

SUPPLEMENT.

Since writing the foregoing account, I had occasion to examine the Muhammadan coins in the Society's cabinet, in conjunction with the Hon'ble Mr. J. Gibbs, C. S. Distributed in various bundles and mixed up with Pathán and Moghul coins, we found a small number of coins of the early Bengal series. These I afterwards examined with the following result. It will be seen that there are among them a few pieces of considerable interest.

There were 8 coins of Shams-ud-dín Altamsh.

- 3 „ of Ghiyás-ud-dín 'Iwaz.
- 3 „ of Jalálat-ud-dín (Riḏiyah).
- 2 „ of 'Alá-ud-dín Mas'aúd Sháh.
- 5 „ of Náṣir-ud-dín Maḥmúd Sháh.
- 2 „ of Mughís-ud-dín Yúzbak.

I. COINS OF SHAMS-UD-DÍN ALTAMSH.

No. 13. *Silver*. Weight 148 grs. A duplicate of No. 3; but margin altogether illegible.

No. 14. *Silver*. A duplicate of No. 4; now in the possession of Mr. Gibbs, by exchange.

No. 15. *Silver*. Weight 164½ grs. A variety of Nos. 4 and 14. Margin partially legible *شهور سنة ثلاثين و ستة مائة* ضرب. Date 630. The variety consists merely in the slightly different formation of the letters.

No. 16. *Silver*. Weight 151½ grs. Like Nos. 4 and 14 in everything but the date, which is 632. The margin is almost complete *الفضة في* *شهور سنة اثنا و ثلاثين و ستة مائة*.

No. 17. *Silver*. Weight 148½ grs. Apparently a badly preserved duplicate of No. 16.

No. 18. (Plate III, No. 1). *Silver*. Weight 161 grs. Belongs to type No. XXXI in Thomas' *Chronicles*, p. 53. But in the present coin both marginal readings are not identical. According to that on the reverse, this money is derived from the land-revenue of Kanauj and some other place the name of which I cannot read.

Obv. ضرب هذا الفضة في بلاد الهند حضرت
Rev. خراج قنوج و ?

No. 19. *Silver*. Weight 165 grs. (Plate III, 2). *Unique*. It belongs to type Nos. 4, 14, 16 (or No. XXX in Thomas' *Chronicles*, p. 52), which it resembles in every respect, except that it names *Laknautí* as its place of

mintage. As far as I know, this is the only coin of Shams-ud-dín hitherto known (or at least, made known), which expressly bears the mint name of Lakhanautí. Margin complete : ضرب هذا السكه بلكنوتى في شهر سنة ثلث ثلثين و ستمائة. It is dated A. H. 633.

No. 20. *Silver.* Weight 156½ grs. Apparently a duplicate of No. 9 in Thomas' *Initial Coinage of Bengal*, Pt. II, p. 359 (in J. A. S. B. vol. XLII). The margin, however, is almost illegible. The place of mintage is not mentioned, but it must have been Lakhanautí in Bengal, as it follows the type of Ghiyás-ud-dín's coins (see below).

II. COINS OF GHIYÁS-UD-DÍN 'IWAZ.

No. 21. *Silver.* Weight 161 grs. Duplicate of No. 4 in Thomas' *Initial Coinage*, Pt. II, p. 354.

No. 22. (Plate III, 3). *Silver.* Weight 160½ grs. Resembles No. 5 in Thomas' *Initial Coinage*, Pt. II, p. 356, in every thing but the marginal legend which reads differently and gives a different date, A. 616.

Margin : السكه شهر ؟ سنة ستة عشرة ؟

No. 23. *Silver.* Weight 157 grs. Duplicate of No. 6a in Thomas' *Initial Coinage*, Pt. II, p. 356. But the margin is not quite complete.

ضرب السكه في ربيع الاخر سنة سبع عشرة و

III. COINS OF JALÁLAT-UD-DÍN (RIZIYAH).

No. 24. (Plate III, 4). *Silver.* Weight 162 grs. This is a duplicate of No. 6. But fortunately in the present coin that portion of the margin, which contains the date 634, is complete, while the other portion containing the mint-name is wanting.

Margin : ضرب هذا شهر سنة اربع ثلثين ستمائة

No. 25. (Plate, III, 5). *Silver.* Weight 159 grs. This is a variety of No. 7, which it resembles in every respect, except that the word *بذت* is not placed between *الشمس* and *السلطان* but, interlinearly, above them. A duplicate of this coin is described and figured by Mr. Thomas in his *Chronicles*, p. 107 (Pl. I, 27 and Pl. VI, 1). The margin, unfortunately, is incomplete ; it gives the date distinctly, but the mint, which no doubt was Lakhanautí, is omitted.

Margin : ضرب هذا شهر سنة خمس ثلثين ستمائة

No. 26. *Silver.* Weight 146 grs. A very badly preserved duplicate of No. 25. Of the marginal legend only *الفضة بلكنوتى* remains ; thus fixing Lakhanautí as its place of mintage.

IV. COINS OF 'ALÁ-UD-DÍN MAS'AÚD SHÁH.

No. 27. (Plate III, 6). *Silver*. Weight 142 grs. Apparently *unique*. This coin shows the same inscriptions as No. 8, with all its peculiarities; viz., on the reverse, the addition of *b'illah* after *Al Mustanşir* and of *Ulah* after *Al Mominín*; and on the obverse, the omission of the article *us* (ال) before *sultán*. It differs from No. 8, however, by the possession of a margin with inscriptions on both sides, of which illegible traces are still distinguishable. The original presence of margins is also evidenced by the fact of the size of the square areas being much smaller than in No. 8. The letters, also, are much more neatly formed on the present coin, than on No. 8. As a further minor difference it may be noted, that the segments on the reverse of the present coin show the usual four dots arranged two on each side of a small loop, while on No. 8 the loop is absent. There are traces of a word, in the left hand corner, below بالله, which I cannot quite make out. They look like حمد *hamd* "praise", or perhaps خلد. And it may be noted that on No. 8 there are also traces of a word in the same place.

Obv.

السلطان الاعظم
علا الدنيا و الدين ابو
المظفر مسعود شاه
بن سلطان

Margin : illegible.

Rev.

في عهد الامام
المستنصر بالله امير
المؤمنين لله

Margin : illegible.

No. 28. (Plate IV, 1). *Silver*. Weight 145 grs. Apparently *unique*. This coin agrees with Nos. 27 and 8 in omitting the article *us* (ال) before *sultán* on the obverse.* For the rest, the legends are the usual ones, as on No. 97 in Thomas' *Chronicles*, p. 122; that is, بالله and لله, on the reverse, are omitted. It is not quite clear, whether there were originally any margins with legends; there are no apparent traces left.

I may, here, add that there are several coins of the usual type (like Nos. 97, 98 in Thomas' *Chronicles*, p. 122) in the Society's Cabinet.

V. COINS OF NAŞIR-UD-DÍN MAĤMÚD SHÁH.

No. 29. (Plate IV, 2). *Silver*. Weight 140½ grs. *Unique*. This is the coin which Mr. Thomas has described and figured in his *Chronicles*, p. 129, No. 110. I have thought it desirable to re-figure it, as Mr.

* Unless the scrawl over the س of *sultán* should be meant for ال.

Thomas has only given the obverse, which does not contain the marginal legend with the date, and because the facsimile of the obverse given by him is not quite exact. As I have already mentioned on p. 60, the name *Yúzbak* is distinctly recognizable in the lower left-hand-corner. The word just preceding the name I read doubtfully المعين *Al Mu'ain* "the appointed one" or "the assistant"; the letters مع *mím* with the *pesh* over it and the following 'ain are quite distinct. Below this word, again, there are traces visible of خان *Khán* or سلطان *Sultán*, perhaps of *Tughril Khán*, a name of the *Yúzbak*.

No. 30. (Plate IV, 3). *Silver*. Weight 169 grs. *Unique*. In general, style of execution this coin very closely resembles No. 10; but it omits *Sháh* after *Mahmúd* and adds the article *al* to *Sultán*. The date in the margin is: Month *Şafar* in A. H. 655, which is noteworthy, as fixing the termination of the independent *Salţanat* of *Mughís-ud-dín*.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
السلطان الاعظم ناصر الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر محمود ابن السلطان	في عهد الامام المعتصم امير المومنين <i>Margin:</i> ضرب هذا السكه بلكنون في صفر سنة خمس خمسين وستماية

No. 31. *Silver*. Weight 169 grs. Belongs to type No. 106 of Thomas' *Chronicles*, p. 127, to which it is like in every respect, excepting the date which is 655.

No. 32. *Silver*. Weight 162 grs. A variety of the same type as No. 31, but the square areas are larger and the letters of a coarser make, closely resembling No. DCXIV in Marsden's *Oriental Coins*. Both margins are almost altogether worn away.

No. 33. (Plate IV, 4). *Silver*. Weight 167 grs. A variety of the same type as No. 32. On the obverse a small portion of the margin is left: بحضرت دهلي ..., naming *Dehli* as the place of mintage.

V. COINS OF MUGHÍS-UD-DÍN YÚZBAK.

No. 34. (Plate IV, 5). *Silver*. Weight 168 grs. Triplicate of Nos. 11 and 12; the best preserved among them.

No. 35. (Plate IV, 6). *Silver*. Weight 145½ grs. Variety of Nos. 11, 12, 34. The letters on the reverse are not quite so well formed, especially in the margin, where, *e. g.*, سل (or ثل) stands for ثلث.

While examining these coins I have been led to make two observations which I should like to mention.

1. As to the place of mintage. In the case of Shams-ud-dín's coins of the horseman type no mint-place is mentioned (unless indeed it be contained in one of the illegible scrawls). Mr. Thomas ascribes the coins of this type to a Bengal mint (see *Initial Coinage*, Pt. II, p. 352), on two grounds: *first*, because these coins have been found in conjunction with others which are undoubtedly of Bengal mintage; and *secondly*, because a unique gold coin of this type actually bears the mint name "Gaur" on its reverse (ضرب بكور).* Neither reasons, however, appear to be quite conclusive. As to the former, coins of undoubtedly Dehli mintage also have been found in conjunction with them; *e. g.*, Nos. 3 and 4, coins of which type Mr. Thomas himself ascribes to Dehli. Then *secondly*, though the reading *Zarb ba Gaur* (not *Zarb Nagor*) is most probably the true one, it only proves that particular (unique) gold coin to be Bengal-struck; it may be an exception; it does not show that the silver coins of the same type were also struck in Bengal. It is certain from coins of other types, that Shams-ud-dín struck coins *of the same type*, both at Dehli and at Lakhanautí; and it is to be observed that those struck at Dehli bear no mint name, while those struck at Lakhanautí bear that name. Thus the coins, Nos. 4 and 19, are of *exactly the same type*; but No. 4, which does not name any mint, is admittedly of Dehli, while No. 19 is of Lakhanautí, because it expressly names that mint. Speaking generally, it seems but reasonable that in the case of coins of Dehli Emperors, when no mint is named, it should be the Imperial mint of Dehli. In their case no one would think of another mint, but the Imperial one, unless it were expressly mentioned that they were struck at a provincial mint (Gaur or Lakhanautí). On the same principle (though the result is different), in the case of the coins of the Bengal Sulṭán Ghiyás-ud-dín 'Iwaz which name no mint, the latter must be a Bengal mint (Gaur or Lakhanautí); because Ghiyás-ud-dín being merely the ruler of Bengal, no one could think of any other but the principal Bengal Mint. Accordingly I incline to the opinion, that all coins of Shams-ud-dín of the Horseman type, which bear no mint name, are to be ascribed to Dehli;† and further, generally, that all coins of Dehli Emperors, without any mint name, must be thus ascribed. Major Raverty, in his *Translation of the Tabaqát-i-Násirí*, p. 772, while questioning Mr. Thomas' ascription of these coins to Bengal mints, thinks they may have been struck in Bihár, on the occasion

* Maulvi Abdul Hai of the Madrasah, however, informs me that the correct Muhammadan spelling of this name is *Ghaur* غور.

† Their connection with Shams-ud-dín's *Dehli copper* coins of the Horseman type (*Chronicles*, p. 71) is obvious.

when Shams-ud-dín “sent forces from Dehli towards Lakhnautí, possessed himself of Bihár, and installed his own Amír therein.” But there is really no evidence of the existence of a Bihár mint at this time; but the passage quoted from the Muhammadan historian may show how it came to pass that some of Shams-ud-dín’s coins, struck at Dehli, were carried thence to Lakhnautí.

The second observation refers to the style of the letters. Three different styles can be clearly distinguished: a rude and ill-formed, an ordinary square and an ornamental oblong. The first style may be best seen in Nos. 1 and 5; the second in Nos. 4, 29, the third in Nos. 3, 11. The rude form is peculiar to the early Bengal coins of Ghiyás-ud-dín 'Iwaz and to Shams-ud-dín’s coins of the horseman type. The ornamental oblong is seen in all Bengal coins of Mughís-ud-dín. The imperial coins show both the ordinary square and the ornamental oblong style, more or less distinctly; thus compare Nos. 3 and 4 of Shams-ud-dín and Nos. 10 and 29 of Náşir-ud-dín. Whether any and what conclusions may be drawn from these facts regarding the mints from which they may have been issued, I must leave others to decide, who understand more of Indian Numismatics than I do.

On the Coins of the Sikhs.—By CHAS. J. RODGERS.

The power and rule of the Sikhs have passed away. The year which witnessed the total destruction of the Sikh army at Gujrát, witnessed also the annexation of the Panjab to British India. Since 1849 the Sikhs have been nothing more than what they were before the time of Gobind Singh, a religious sect. All signs of their political influence and superiority are fast passing away from the country. When the present generation has passed away, there will be little in the Panjab to show that the Sikhs were once rulers. Even now it is forty years since the death of Ranjít Singh, and it is only here and there one meets a Musalmán zamindár who tells us of what he suffered from Sikh extortion and oppression. And it is only now and then one meets with a grey beard who glories in the memories of the raids of the Sikh soldiery.

The history of the Sikhs from the time of Nának to the battle of Gujrát is one of the most interesting and instructive studies in the whole range of modern revolutions. It shows how religiousness and quaintness, combined with self-denial and an open house can carry the day against all established customs and national prejudices. It shows how a little truth combined with shrewdness and eccentricity, audacity and assertion, bold and long continued, can at last prevail over all objections. By religiousness I